1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

They were Mangey Coat and Atsaçi. We talked, and then they said they had come to get damages for Woman. I was surprised. I asked them which one of them had a claim on her. 627x 684

"They answered, 'We have come to you from Mexican. He was the brother of Touched With A Closed Fist and this woman is his wife.'

"I called her and asked her if she were married to another man.

" 'No,' she said. She denied having anything to do with him or wanting to have anything to do with him.

"I was satisfied. Then I turned to those two men and asked what Mexican wanted in claim.

"They answered that he wanted a certain horse I had got from a dead friend, another horse, a saddle, and a Winchester.[9]

"I told them that I would not part with that first horse. It was dear to me. I told them I would give them another just as good.

"Atsaçi answered, 'We want that horse or none.'

"I tried three times to get them to agree on another horse, but they refused. Finally, I told them, 'All right, if you take that horse, you get nothing but that horse. It is enough.' I had something else to say, too, and I told Atsaçi I wanted to tell him something after we finished.

" 'What?' he said.

"I told him not to forget that he was married to two of my 'daughters' (they were daughters of my brother). In these words I spoke to him. 'If I accept these terms, and you insist on that horse, you can have it. But if you do, you will lose your two wives. I will take back my daughters from you. You are my son-in-law and yet you are not caring what you say; you are trying to get the horse I love.' [595] [602]

"Then Mangey Coat broke in right away. He said that Atsaçi wasn't thinking about what he was saying. He said they would agree to take another horse.

"That was what I wanted. Atsaçi was silent. He was ashamed. He was really older than I was and he had forgotten about being my son-in-law in that way. Then I asked him what he had to say to the agreement.

"He mumbled, 'Well, it's up to Mangey Coat. He is older than I am. It's up to him to have the say.'

"Well, I told them I was willing to do the right thing, so I gave them a grey mare, a bay horse, a good saddle and a gun. Later on that grey horse got to be a very good racer and won lots of money." [541]

Here is one of the few cases in which the *danger* of sending intermediaries appears. But ill-advised choice of counsel is a risk, even with us. Note also that a breach even of the levirate bites, though the brother-tie be purely classificatory; and that rights of the wife's "father," though but of the "father"-group, are available after marriage. 627x 602

[9] In strict form it was customary to ask for four different articles in damages.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

x627 595

Comparison at this point with a reference to Comanche law from the literature will indicate how much more deeply the stream runs than appears from the surface, and why special study with reference to legal behavior is fruitful. "Polygamy is practised to a great extent—some chiefs having more than ten wives, but inconstancy is the natural result of it, which is frequently punished by cutting off the nose of the transgressor, and sometimes even death; but more frequently the woman escapes unpunished and the seducer is deprived of all his available property, which is yielded to the injured party, by custom, without resistance."[10]

In those unfortunate cases in which the defendant was so poverty-stricken as to be unable to pay any damages whatsoever, his opponent had legal recourse to thrashing him on the bare back with a horse whip.

Case 10. Adultery: Buffalo Robe vs. Cliff
Informant: That's It

Buffalo Robe found Cliff lying with his wife. Since the husband knew that Cliff was too poor to pay him any damages. He took his quirt and started to whip the fellow. The culprit had to stand still and say nothing until Buffalo Robe was finished. Then he went home, his back raw and bleeding.

In later years Cliff used to boast about how he had lain with Buffalo Robe's wife and what a beating he took for it.

487 558

It is not that Cliff had become case-hardened: it is the satisfaction an old man derives from re-living and re-telling the pranks of his youth, as did the old men in the Smoke Lodge. As a youth, however, Cliff was horribly disgraced by the whipping. He had been physically and socially debased before the entire tribe. Only great war honors could have reestablished a position for him.

x627 684

Case 11. Adultery: Whipping waived by Warrior
Informant: Post Oak Jim

"A bunch of Comanches were out raiding one time when some American soldiers caught them off guard. The soldiers got away with most of our horses. My nephew saved just one white horse from the soldiers. It was the only horse left in his band.

"Just after that bad luck, he got caught in adultery with another man's wife. He spoke right up and told the husband he would settle for it, for he admitted he was in the wrong and was willing to make it good. He offered his white horse to the husband—it was the only horse left. The husband was willing to settle it at that, since there were no more horses available. That was a lively horse and very skittish. Catching it was always hard work. This time, all the friends and my relatives joined in chasing the horse to bridle it. One of them finally captured it, but it fell

[10] Neighbors, *The Comanches* (Schoolcraft, *Indians*, vol. 2), pp. 131–132.

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

XI

The chief and his household—The matrimonial relation—Osolo, the Big Wolf—An Indian breakfast—The consultation—Moko, the favorite wife—The watch, once more—Mysterious assembling outside the camp—The captives stripped and bound—Preparations for the sacrifice—March of the warriors—The flint arrowheads—Scalping the prisoners—Sounding the war whoop—The torture—The desire to die—Taunting the victims—Compelled to look at the sufferers—The last act in the tragedy—Indian dogs—Return to camp—Obstinacy—Interview with Aikens—The sorrowful parting—Change of mind—Removal of the camp—Description of the country.

727 In the morning I was released from the uncomfortable
595 position I had occupied during the night, allowed to sit up with only my hands tied behind my back, a change which afforded inexpressible relief. I soon comprehended the number and character of the household in which necessity had forced me to take up board and lodging for an indefinite period of time. It consisted of a tall, stout Indian, who had apparently long passed the middle age of life, and his four wives. The latter were comparatively young, none of them exceeding twenty-three or twenty-four years. The youngest was by far the most comely and graceful and evidently the favorite. Each wife, as is the Comanche custom, had her separate and distinct apartment, consisting of a small tent erected outside of, but adjoining, the husband's.

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

The Chief and His Household

Modern improvements have not been carried so far among 797
them as to furnish the convenience of bells, such as are 595
used to call waiters in our fashionable hotels, but as a substitute mine host of the wigwam had tied a deerskin cord [202]
to the corner of each of his wive's buffalo mattresses, the [513]
other end extending under the canvas into his own tent, thus rendering only a slight twitch necessary to communicate intelligence their presence was required. It was their duty to attend him, come at his call and go at his bidding, standing towards him as much in the relation of slaves as of wives.

He was the civil chief as distinguished from the war chief, 622
and consequently the head of the tribe. This dignity carried with it the privilege of possessing four wives, a common [554]
Indian being allowed to have but one, subordinate officers [595]
two, and the war chief three. His name was Osolo, which, [551]
translated into Anglo Saxon, signifies "the Big Wolf." He
had eight children, four of whom still remained in their mothers' tents, two had grown to manhood and taken [591]
wives to themselves, while two daughters had likewise left the paternal wigwam for the matrimonial lodge.

I had an opportunity now of observing their manner of 252
preparing and partaking breakfast, which certainly was not attended with an extraordinary ceremony or display. Outside the tent, in front of the door, two logs lay side by side. Between them the fire was kindled. A long slice of horseflesh was attached to the end of a stick, some four feet in length, by which the meat was held over the fire, and when barely warmed through was brought into the tent, the handle end of the stick thrust into the ground, the long slice dangling from the other end, resembling a drooping blood-red flag. Kiln-dried corn was next boiled and mashed and [415]
served in a large dish made of bark. Breakfast was then 000

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

583 arranged marriage the wife is likely to become angry on the least provocation and leave." Such precipitate action is explained partly by the fact that girls were given to men much older than they. "If parents give a daughter to an older man, she doesn't like it. If they do it once, nothing is said. If they do it often, people don't like it; they talk."[18]

Occasionally an up-and-coming youth who was industrious and showed promise as a warrior was sought out by a father or brother and asked to marry a girl in their family. Such a man was usually a captive; a fullblood Comanche would consider it disgraceful for him to accept advances from the girl's family. The father or brother in such a case took gifts to the prospective bridegroom. Here there was direct action—no sending of intermediaries or hiding out of sight. If the young man accepted, the girl was brought to him that night, and her parents provided most of the household necessities.

595 All these steps were possibilities in a first marriage. In addition, the Comanches observed several forms of affinal marriage; i.e., marriage to a relative by a previous marriage. The levirate and sororate were the strongest of these. The number of wives might run anywhere from one to six or more. It was a normal pattern for a man to take as wives the younger sister or sisters of his first wife and any women he might have captured or girls who grew up as captives in the tribe. Sororal polygyny was used by parents to induce a son-in-law to observe zealously his economic obligations to them. His reward was a second sister to wife. The contract was frequently made while the child was still quite young, even before she reached teen age. Although such a wife was treated as a child, she shared the privileges of a wife.

Polyandry as practiced by the Comanches was attenuated in form. It was a practice which might also be called "anticipatory levirate" and consisted in brothers' lending each other their wives. "One is really her husband, of course." Sexual jealousy between brothers was socially deprecated. "A man loves his brother; he knows that if his brother dies, no one can replace him; he gives him everything he can," explained That's It. "A brother therefore sends his wife over to him occasionally as a gift. She cannot go of her own free will or

[18] Informant: Breaks Something.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

meet him secretly, or her real husband will be angry." It was also expected that when a man was on the warpath, his brother could sleep with his wife. If all the brothers were out on a raid, the wives were sent to stay with their husbands' sisters. In wife-exchange the rights of the husband were fully recognized, and he was compensated for restraining his jealousy partly by social approval of his generosity, partly by his expectation of a return in kind. So strong was the idea that brothers share a wife that it logically followed that men who had sexual relations with a married woman were, in a formal sense, brothers. So it was that an outraged husband prosecuting an adulterer, demanding heavy damages, nevertheless addressed the man who had cuckolded him as "brother."

This practice indicates that brothers with their sisters formed a marriage group, which established relationships with another marriage group on the basis of inter-family exchange marriage. Although individual marriages took place between the members of the two groups (no group marriage), there was a projection of the marital rights of each member of the group to all its members of the same sex —in the present through sororal polygyny and fraternal polyandry (anticipatory levirate); in futurity through the sororate and levirate. One's father and the father's brothers were thus equated in the kinship system as *apʻ*, because they were actual or potential mates to one's mother under polyandry or the levirate. One's mother and her sisters were equated as *pia*, because they were actual or potential mates to one's father as members of the same marriage group. A man called his brother's child his own (*tua*, "son," or *bet*, "daughter"), since they were descendants of his marriage group, but he terminologically distinguished his sisters' children, *aʻa*, because they were in another marriage group. Likewise, a woman called her sister's child "son" or "daughter" but distinguished her brother's child, *paha*. A woman who lost her husband by death was inherited by a brother of her husband. Thus brothers were potential husbands of a woman whether they ever became such in actuality. Hence, there was no separate word for brother-in-law, only *kumaxp*, "husband."

The marriage of a man to the daughter of his deceased wife's brother was not a standard Comanche practice; the custom is usually found only in societies that have patrilineal clans in which the wife's

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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mother-in-law tabu in Comanche society, probably because of the old Shoshonean system of pseudo cross-cousin marriages in which a boy married the step-daughter of his father's sister, thus equating mother-in-law with paternal aunt. The absence of the avoidance practice is entirely sensible, since a boy had been accustomed to treating his mother-in-law as a preferred aunt. The same relationship held for a girl and her father-in-law. The Comanches had given up the pseudo cross-cousin marriages, but the terminology and its accompanying attitudes carried on. This patterns of social conduct was quite in contrast with that of some of the other Plains tribes. Among the Cheyennes, who were neighbors of the Comanches, for example, a man never spoke to, or knowingly went near, his mother-in-law until late in life when he had presented her with a war trophy. A Comanche mother-in-law could talk or even joke with her son-in-law, although extreme familiarity was carefully avoided. The normal pattern in Comanche society was that a son-in-law should respect and help his mother-in-law. In case of an attack on the camp, a son-in-law was expected to protect his mother-in-law. In case he failed to do so, the sympathy of the group was with the abandoned mother-in-law, who could order her daughter to leave him, as in the case of the woman whose son-in-law refused to give her his horse when they were being chased by the Tonkawas. "When we get home, you don't live with my daughter any longer," was her dictum. A hunter felt obligated to share his game with his wife's parents. A father-in-law had the privilege of ordering the dissolution of a marriage when the son-in-law gave personal offense to either parent-in-law.

In polygynous families many of the secondary wives were captives whose lot in the household was that of "chore wives," helpers to the first wife. If the wives were all sisters, the oldest one usually continued as "boss," even as she had among her sisters before her marriage. This fact explains why the Comanches thought sisters made better multiple wives. There was less possibility of friction developing because a younger wife challenged the supremacy of an older one. One wife was always favored and was free to be her husband's constant companion. She was called the *pataiβo*, "chief" wife. The favored wife usually escaped much of the hard labor and drudgery which fell to the lot of other wives. She carried her husband's shield

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

595 on the march, unless menstruating, when she carried it herself. In fact, however, plural wives tended to reduce the domestic drudgery of all through a sharing of labor.

A man with only two or three wives and not too many children kept them all in one tipi. An important man's wives ordinarily lived apart, however, each woman having her own tent for herself and her children. Among the poorer families when wives were sisters, they sometimes used only the one tipi and possibly one bed for a time, but they always constructed separate tipis as soon as possible.[20] The opening of these tents was on the main tipi which was occupied by the husband. Long buckskin strings, attached to the buffalo mattress of each woman, were laid under the fold of the tent into the tipi of the husband so that he could instantly summon any one of his wives.

163 Comanche women were not very prolific, and death of the mother
842 at childbirth was not uncommon.[21] The average birth rate seems
847 scarcely to have exceeded two children to each woman, and it was a rare case when there were more than three or four born to one woman. Births were far apart, and the newborn were usually small. Many women were barren. Contraceptives were unknown to the Comanches, but abortions were practiced by beating the belly with stones. Hard physical work and constant horseback riding also apparently induced abortions so early in pregnancy that they went unnoticed.

844 Giving birth to a child was ordinarily a simple affair. Cases have been reported of women on the trail dropping behind the group, giving birth to their children, and then after a few hours rejoining the group on the march.[22] Under normal conditions, however, natal preparations were made. If a woman had her own tipi, she might use it; but if it was used by other members of the family, a separate lodge was constructed. In the summer it would be of brush about eight feet in diameter and six or seven feet high. Inside the lodge the earth

[20] Informant: See How Deep the Water Is.

[21] R. N. Richardson, "The Culture of the Comanche Indians," Texas Archeological and Paleontological Society *Bulletin*, 1 (1929), 63.

[22] Burnet, "The Comanches and Other Tribes of Texas and the Policy to Be Pursued Respecting Them," *loc. cit.*, 234; Humfreville, *Twenty Years among Our Hostile Indians*, 182.

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
NO6 Comanche NO6

622 became demoralized through contact with the white race and the desperate struggle for existence this brought about, the chiefs exercised more authority.[15] Cases of the formal arraignment and
622 trial of a warrior or chief, were exceedingly rare, if such ever
627 occurred; for the writer has never discovered a well authenticated record of such a procedure. A chief or leading brave might lash
[578] a boy or woman, but to strike another brave or chief generally meant a feud or civil war. Differences between tribesmen were settled by those directly concerned or by the relatives of the slain party. Of course, the law of an eye for an eye prevailed, but generally the heart of the offended party could be softened by judicious gifts. Generally the chiefs could make the men behave while they were in their presence and most men followed the admonition of their elders and leaders as a matter of course.

595 Polygamy was common, but before the advent of the white race
684 and its demoralizing influence on the savages the chastity of Comanche women rated high. During the period of Anglo-American relations it was not uncommon for a woman to run away from her husband in company with a spouse more to her liking. Traditional Comanche law provided that in such cases the offended husband might punish the woman by cutting off her nose, but this horrible practice was not always followed. In at least some cases the husband took back his erring spouse and rejoiced in his good fortune at being able to recover her.

221 For sustenance the Comanches depended almost entirely on game,
224 particularly the buffalo. These animals were generally hunted on horseback and brought down with the lance or shot with arrows at close range. Dependable authorities state that at times the Indians would drive the arrows completely through the carcass of the animal.[16] The natural tendency was for the bands to follow the buffaloes in their northward and southward migration, which practice made a sedentary existence impossible. At certain seasons, when the animals were fat, the hunt became a tribal affair and the slaughter of the great beasts took the shape of a cooperative

15. It is Mooney's opinion that the authority of the Kiowa chiefs suffered a sharp decline as a result of the advent of the white race and it is likely that the same thing occurred among the Comanches. See the Kiowa Indian Calendar, as cited, 233.

16. See Marcy, Exploration of Red River, as cited, 98.

9: Gladwin E-5 (1940) 1948 NO6 Comanche NO6

593 extent of opposite sex, is considered to be one of the closest. It is often said that his brothers are more dear to a man than his wife, and this is given as the reason why a man shares his wife with his younger brothers in a polyandrous [837] household. Men often leave their wives with their brothers when they go off on war-parties, and most people take it for granted that the brother will sleep with her during this time. Damage claims for wife stealing are practically never made upon brothers. It is a brother relationship to which the closest friends aspire, and they will often call each others' families by terms appropriate to this relation. Sisters, on the other hand, form the most desirable [595] combination of wives if a man is to have several, for they get along better together than any other women, and are less likely to be jealous.

[554] The oldest brother has much greater prestige than any of the others, unless he should be a complete coward and failure and have a spectacularly successful younger brother. His position is unique, for, unless he should die very young, his removal through death or moving away will not lead to the elevation of the next oldest brother to a position of special prestige. In this society of warriors, boys from puberty onward are always considered greatly superior to their sisters.

Relations between brothers and sisters are highly variable, and depend greatly upon the personalities of the individuals. The ideal picture is one of fondness and mutual help and kindness. Brothers bring their sisters horses when they return from raids, and will take their side and protect them in case of trouble; they frequently leave their wives with their sisters who will act as chaperones while they are away. A sister will care for her brother's horse when he comes in and perform many minor services for him; she may act as a messenger for an unmarried brother in arranging nocturnal trysts. But these and many other expressions of esteem and affection are only evident if they like each other.

[857] The other side of the picture reveals the fact that the oldest sibling present [576] is the boss of the others until they come of age. As the boys used to go out on war-parties as soon as they were old enough, this was usually an older sister. [195] She frequently whipped her brothers as a disciplinary measure, and often delighted in teasing them in various more or less nasty ways. The word *ɨ̃'rɨ̃ʔaiwapɪ*, "slave," could be applied by an older sibling to a younger, though this was considered being particularly unpleasant, and nice children did not do it! It is significant that while it was presumably permissible, this appellation [605] was rarely if ever used between siblings of the same sex. It is emphatically stated, incidentally, that this was never applied to cousins except as a joke.

593 Once a boy passed puberty, he usually went out on the warpath, and was therefore in imminent danger of being killed. For this reason, it is said, one 882 should let him have his way in all things. The boys do not seem to have been beyond capitalizing on this, and could and occasionally would whip their sisters even after they were married. It was the brother, more than anyone else, who

9: Gladwin E-5 (1940) 1948 NO6 Comanche NO6

593 855 tion for the parents to make a munificent return gift, preferably with a horse, and for the child to give away the original gifts to less fortunate children. This child wore especially fine clothes, rarely had any work to do, was spoiled by everyone, could order his or her siblings and even parents around at will, was never forced into marriage, and was generally cock o' the walk. Such a child [595] was usually the offspring of the father's favorite wife (a wealthy man nearly always had several wives), so that jealousy usually was present among the other wives too, and they would neglect and annoy the favorite child whenever they thought they could get away with it. However, if the child were a boy, he would fairly soon start going off on war-parties, while a girl, not having her marriage arranged for the convenience of the parents, would probably marry [158] a man of some means and reputation, and move away also. It should be noted that favorite children never became *pu'ku'ci?*,[11] according to our informants.

Girls who were not favorites frequently had their marriages arranged for them by their fathers. While the girl was anxious to marry a glamorous warrior, the father preferred a poor but industrious man who would stay around the home and tend his stock for him, perhaps for two or three years or, with the inducement of additional daughters as rewards for good and continued service, [727] almost indefinitely. A captive (especially a Mexican) made the most dependent, [554] and hence reliable, son-in-law of all, though the lowered prestige of the resultant half-Comanche grandchildren was a deterrent to this practice.

597 Adoption of children was fairly common, especially for boys into families without any; in this case, they might become "favorite children." Proper [835] relationship terms for a son or daughter were applied; rigorous incest regulations did not hold with adopted children, but there was strong disapproval of marriage of adoptive siblings if they had been brought up together for a number of years. Close friends of sons might also be adopted when comparatively mature; marriage with them does not seem to have been so clearly outlawed though no cases are recorded. In connection with the early maturity and independence of boys, it is interesting to note that this type of adoption was considered to be solely a matter to be arranged between the boy and his prospective new family—his parents had no influence in the arrangements. There is some evidence that fairly immediate descendants of adopted children were, if possible, married to bona fide members of the family in order to get them more firmly grafted onto the family tree. While the fact that the child was not a blood relative was never forgotten, it appears that a person adopted into a family became practically as much a member of it as one born within it, and generally ceased using the old terms of relationship toward his original family,

[11] *pu'ku'ci?* were adults following institutionalized patterns of "silly" behavior. This behavior readily lends itself to at least superficial interpretation as an escape mechanism for maladjusted people. This term was also applied to "difficult" children, a separated usage, though of course related.

9: Gladwin E-5 (1940) 1948 NO6 Comanche NO6

593 684 including beating, gashing with a knife, and even cutting off her nose. However, in the first years of marriage, at least, a girl's parents, or her brother, could take her back and break up the marriage, especially if they had been instrumental in arranging it in the first place. This might lead to a damage suit by the deprived husband, particularly if she were to marry another man fairly soon; he would often collect from both father and brother, thereby asserting his rights over the woman even if he had not treated her properly.

593 586 Men were not expected to be as faithful as their wives and there was not much that the latter could do about it. However, it is interesting to observe that one of the reasons given for a man leaving his wife was in order to avoid a scene resulting from her jealousy. Other grounds for desertion were incompatibility, and the fact that a woman was a poor housekeeper, though this latter difficulty might be circumvented, if the woman was otherwise desirable, by taking on another, younger wife to do the work. It is significant, in connection with the comparative lack of regard for children mentioned above, that one informant questioned on the subject specifically denied that barrenness on the part of a wife was considered a valid excuse for leaving her. Marriage, on the whole, was a rather brittle relationship; divorces were strikingly frequent.

● 595 [482] [841] [684] If there were several wives, one was usually considered the favorite, though this was not necessarily the one the man had married first. She did much less work, bossed the household, and was much more intimate with her husband. When traveling, it was she who always carried her husband's shield, while the others tended the pack animals that carried the greasy meat which would have impaired the husband's power. If she were menstruating, incidentally, he carried the shield himself. While the favorite wife occupied an obviously superior position, and was much less liable to be punished for any misdemeanors, it was in keeping with her position as a more primarily sexual partner that adulterous lapses on her part were much more severely punished, even to the point of death.

Polygynous households usually occupied at least two tipis. The secondary wives lived in one main tipi; the favorite wife might also live here, and visit her husband more frequently in his private tipi, or she might actually live separately with him, though the dwellings were, or course, adjacent to each other. The children lived in the main tipi with the wives; the favorite wife usually was permitted to have her mother living here too, even if the whole family were not already living with her parents. This allowed the wife more free time to be a companion to her husband. If a secondary wife had a different mother she might occasionally also get her in, but two grandmothers seem to have been the limit. The tipi usually contained only three beds, one of which (to the North—the door was to the East) was for the man of the family, and another might have to be vacated in favor of a visitor at any time, so the women could not afford to gather in too large numbers.

9: Gladwin E-5 (1940) 1948 NO6 Comanche NO6

men could not afford to gather in too large numbers. On other other hand, wealthier men often had a number of tipis, and their feminine entourage might thus have been of considerable size.

It is obvious that many opportunities were present for the growth of hostility between the wives, and fights appear to have been not uncommon.[12] The husband usually did not interfere, but left it to some of the wives' relatives or some other influential person. None but the favorite wife would come to the husband with grievances against another, as he was not likely to be very sympathetic.

Siblings-in-law. Of all the members of her husband's family a woman is likely to be most intimate with his sister. As we have seen before, he frequently left his wife with his sister when he went off on raiding parties; whether this was more common than leaving her with his brother is not clear, but one certainly gets such an impression. In this situation, the sister had pretty complete authority over the wife, at least as far as her relations with other men were concerned, but the usual pattern was of friendliness and mutual help, coupled with a certain amount of mild joking if they felt like it.

Brothers-in-law frequently felt a strong bond, and were likely to seek each other's company and aid in preference to any but their own brothers. This is doubtless closely connected with the recognized custom of men giving their sisters to their friends as wives. Brothers-in-law are expected to joke a great deal together, the jokes being insulting, personal, and often coarse. The words for spider, *tatéʔɑ*, and for tarantula, *pɨ́'hīreʔɑ*, are recognized to mean "someone's brother-in-law" and "hairy brother-in-law" respectively, while common pharses substituted for this relationship term are given as "our testicles" and "our smell of dog urine." Examples of this sort could be multiplied indefinitely.

The dominant pattern of behavior between siblings-in-law of opposite sex is the reciprocal joking relationship so commonly found among Plains tribes. It apparently does not exist among the Shoshoni in just this form, and the existence of the two terms for denoting this relationship among the Comanche suggests the intrusion of the custom along with the term, though I have been unable to locate a similar word in another tribe. Repeated questions failed to elicit any preference for the *hâipia* (sibling-in-law of opposite sex) or the spouse term in any given situation, joking or otherwise; they seem to be interchangeable. The genealogies reveal that different individuals with whom the informants joked and generally carried on similar relationships were sometimes called by one, sometimes by the other, and often by both terms. However, although the spouse terms are often used in joking too, there is no doubt that the joking *relationship* was on the basis of their being each other's *hâipia*. Thus there was some feeling that it was not quite right for husband and wife,

[12] Catlin (1845, Vol. 2, pp. 64–5) found such fights to be among the most striking features of Comanche community life.

10:Horn T-3 (1836-1837) 1955
NO6 Comanche NO6

771 conciliate the favor of, the Author of the war of
789 elements, I could not determine. Another circum-
stance induced me to think they might have some
775 notions of a future state. There was a young woman
764 among them, who certainly possessed some traits
of character more amiable by far than the most of
her race with whom I was acquainted; she sick-
ened and died, when their grief, as usual, was
unbounded. I observed to one of the females, that
I hoped she was better off than when here; – she
smiled, and pointed upwards. The strength of their
181 attachment to each other, and the demonstration
they give of the same, even to the dividing of the
last morsel with each other upon the point of star-
vation, might put many professed christians to the
blush! But they are just the reverse of all this to
[186] all the world beside. They think themselves the
cleverest race of men on earth, and treat all others
as infinitely inferior to themselves. They have no
582 formal marriages among them. They generally
[595] take wives at an early age. Each man is allowed
to take five women; but, in making his selection,
the ties of consanguinity oppose no barrier; hence
they are truly a consanguineous race of so motley
a mixture, that it would be impossible to identify
593 the connexions. The distinction, however, [50]
[837] might be less obscure, but for the fact, that with
them matrimonial alliances oppose no restraint
[562] to promiscuous intercourse. The relation of the
women to the men differs little from a state of the

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

[ca. 1818]

perament of the climate they inhabit, would seem to preclude the existence of consumptive diseases amongst them. They have faith in certain preternatural charms, and think, or affect to think, the oil of the beaver rubbed on the surface of the body, an impenetrable barrier to a ball; and will relate with infinite self-complacency, how the Goch-chupin's (Spaniards) balls, have hit them here and there, and fallen harmless to the ground. This idea may possibly have some operation and impart a factitious boldness to their minds, when opposed to the *Scopete* or Spanish musket; but few will be found of sufficient hardihood to repose confidence in their magical shields, when assailed by the ball of a rifle. They have an indescribable dread of that potent and unerring weapon. They sometimes wear around the neck, one or more highly aromatic kernels, resembling the Vanilla bean, which they esteem as amulets of infallible efficacy in preventing disease; and they indulge many other and more frivolous whimsicalities that are not worthy of notice in a description so cursory as this.

The Comanchees admit of polygamy to an unlimited extent, and have no fixed ceremonials of marriage. Their principal warriors have often from five to eight or ten wives, being restrained only by their own capricious humours. Carno-san-tua, (The Son of America), a chief of some note, left 10 widows to bewail his untimely death. The most comely of them, however, were soon dispersed, to herd with the connubial slaves of other Lords of the creation; while the less favoured retained their weeds, and prolonged their severe and sanguinary discipline of lamentation for the dead. The redoubtable warrior generally proportions the number of his help-mates to his means of maintenance, which implies simply animal sustentation, and in procuring which, his only agency is the killing of game. His wives, one or more of whom are always in attendance on his hunting excursions, perform the duties of ostler in catching, saddling, and turning out his horse; of page, in carrying his implements of the chase; of butcher and porter, in skinning and transporting his meat; and of cook and waiter, in preparing and serving it up. The Squaws are

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 NO6 Comanche NO6
(ca. 1870)

584 unfrequently the talons and beaks of the prairie eagles and falcons, a breast-
301 plate of "hair pipe," and perhaps a few bright plates of metal cut into the
291 form of crosses and crescents and sewed to his gorgeously colored suit of
231 dressed skins. So attired, with his face sometimes painted brown, or blue,
584 and at other times flaming in vermillion colors, or yellow as the victims
302 of "the plague of the Indies," the Comanche beau mounts his pony and proceeds to the lodge of his inamorata, dismounts, and, if the maiden comes and hitches his pony, enters and squats upon the ground; and displays his discontent with his lot by responding to every inquiry with a most dolorous
584 "Ugh! Ugh!" After manifesting his misery to an extent deemed sufficient, the Comanche young gentleman rises with great dignity, and repeating two or three knell-like "Ugh! Ughs!" he remounts and rides off without so much as deigning to utter a word. If the maiden he desires to woo does not take charge of his pony, that ends the courtship. He would despise himself and be the fool of the tribe to persist under such circumstances.

An account of this visit is carefully certified to the master of the lodge, on his return. Our dandy, like many civilized gallants, is always very careful to make his initiatory visit when paterfamilias is not at home. The way is now open for further negotiations. The girl is not usually again consulted. The young dandy has merely condescended to indicate his prefer-
584 ence for her. She of course must be delighted. If the father is a chief or
583 principal man in the tribe, he provides a dower for the daughter. The young suitor must be able to respond in equal measure in the way of presents of this world's goods. Sometimes a Comanche belle may have, as a portion, as many as fifty ponies. The suitor in such case should be prepared to turn over fifty-one ponies as a present to his would be father-in-law.
[585] If this can be done, a bargain is usually concluded. No further ceremony is necessary. The maiden and her fifty ponies become the absolute property of the young man. He has "swapped" fifty-one ponies for fifty ponies and got a wife, or rather slave, into the bargain.

585 When negotiations have been concluded, the dandy proceeds to the lodge of his bride, but not in the same plight as before. He enters, throws down his deer skin mantle, casts from him his weapons, and then orders the bride to enter upon her duties as a wife and slave by taking them up and proceeding to follow him to his own lodge, bearing the burdens he has thrown down for her.

[595] The bride may have three or four sisters, and they may all be wives of her husband before the expiration of a week. Mothers-in-law excite
606 little feeling, either of favor or aversion, among the Comanches. They play
585 a minor part in the affairs of the newly constituted households.

23: Cabello y Robles G-3 (1778-1786) 1961
NO6 Comanche NO6
Eastern Comanche

(ca. 1786)

nor of Texas a number of questions about this tribe. A translation of Governor's Cabello's reply follows:

Domingo Cabello: "Answers that the Governor of the Province of Texas Gave to the Questions that the Señor Commandant-General of the Interior [Provinces] asked in a letter dated January 27, 1786, about various circumstances of the Eastern Comanche Indians," April 30, 1786, Bexar Archives.

FIRST: About Their Customs.

According to what is known about this Nation, it is the most brave and warlike of those [tribes] that inhabit the North; and when they have friendship they are very friendly and of a generous mood, and friends of their friends, although delicate in the mode with which they make friendship. They adore very much the skins of animals which they customarily bring with them, and which they fasten on themselves during the encounters of war, so that they will not be killed or wounded in any manner; and if any misfortune befall them, they attribute it to having given some offense to this specie of idol, such as not having offered it food or the smoke (*humo*) of tobacco each time they smoke (*fuman*), or that women have defiled the ceremonies which they make use of when they take the pipe in hand. Some devote themselves in this manner to adoring a buffalo hide, others to that of the bear, others to the otter, and others to that of some birds, whose skin, still with its feathers, they use to adorn themselves. Their marriages they celebrate with as many women as they are able to maintain; if someone distinguishes himself in bravery and in actions made against his enemies, or something of a similar nature, some fathers give him even of their daughters, and it is the custom many times for him to marry with the sisters [of his wife]; husbands maintain their women with the buffalo and deer which they hunt; [the women] are obliged to work the meat and [prepare] the hides of the said animals. [The husbands] are so extremely jealous that for very trifling motives they kill their women; furthermore, when these mild ones give occasion for it, the husbands treat them with much blindness and harshness, as if they were slaves.

32: Gillies .O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

set of tepee poles, twenty-two in number, left from the old days. Now they were covered with canvas.

The government had built a small box house, generally fourteen by twenty-eight feet, at most family camps, but it could hardly accommodate the multiple-wife family, still in vogue. Mostly it was the camp's storage house, an out-of-the-weather place for saddles, harness, horse feed and medicine, and the women's sewing machine.

I almost never knew one of the Carlisle Comanches, man or boy, to take a job. There were riding jobs on the ranches, and many merchants would have been glad to hire a Comanche clerk. Old Indians with horse herds were forced to hire white broncobusters to break their horses. I asked an Indian father once, in my ignorance, why he was paying to have his horses ridden, and added the naïve qestion, "Don't your boys like to break horses to ride?" In our Scottish household I had never heard the words tact and diplomacy.

The old fellow gave a snort of disgust and replied, partly in sign language and partly in words, "They more like riding sitting-down-walking," that is to say, riding a bicycle.

The question had been crude on my part, and I should have been pulled up short for my brashness. But I was all excited, thinking what a wonderful lot of fun it would be to gentle and ride those ponies. I had actually helped do it on the farm with wild horses from Oregon. I knew there was a better way to break a horse to ride than to throw a saddle on a wild horse, climb on, and spur him until he was exhausted from bucking.

Just a little time spent gentling a horse pays big dividends. Let him wear a saddle while he is tied snugly to a post or in a stall. Then, when you first ride him do not use your spurs. We first taught a horse to lead while wearing a saddle. Then, the first few times we rode him we had someone on a strong, gentle horse keep the wild horse's head snubbed close to the other's saddle horn and lead him.

Indian boys had nothing but time. Tribal custom had been to require no menial tasks from boys as they grew up: "Pretty soon be warrior, may-be-so die." But in the old days, the boy was expected to work with the horses, herd them, learn to train them, and become an expert horseman. From my observations, the Carlisle boys were interested in horses only when they wanted to ride somewhere. Had they seen fit to gentle and break their fathers' horses, they would have had much more salable animals.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

One afternoon in the late 1930s I drove into the little town of Faxon on business for a client. When I got out of the car, I was face to face with Charley Ross. It had been long since I had talked with him, and my happiness at meeting him appeared to be matched by his at seeing me. For a Plains Indian he was truly an old man—somewhere in his seventies. We sat down on the running board of the car, and dusk found us still sitting there. I had forgotten I had a client, and Charley had forgotten that the daughter with whom he lived would be worried about his being out in the raw, chilly evening air.

I had it in mind to ask him many questions about himself, other questions about old Comanche friends of whom I had lost track, and yet other questions about Comanches in general. But he too had questions, and insistent ones. He knew I had become a lawyer, of course, but mostly he wanted to know about my children—for what place in life they had fitted themselves.

When he learned that my oldest son was already a lawyer and the younger son was preparing for law school, he grinned with pleasure. My father was the first magistrate appointed after the opening, and his jurisdiction had stretched for twenty or more miles in any direction. To Charley that meant Dad had been learned in the law. Then I had followed in the law profession, and now two sons were following me. To Charley, this progression was wonderful.

He was equally pleased to match up my daughters with his. My oldest was on the faculty of a small college, and the younger was teaching in a high school. Both his daughters were teachers and had married teachers.

Another Carlisle product who launched himself into the white man's life stream and kept himself afloat was one of Quanah Parker's sons. But then, he had a motive. He was in love.

Chief Quanah Parker's house was about three miles from the little town of Cache, Oklahoma. Some Texas cattlemen had settled him in a kind of apartment house just south of the Wichita Mountains, where West Cache Creek breaks out into the prairie. He was recognized by the government as chief of the Comanches. Like all the older Indians married to more than one wife, he had been allowed to keep his four or five remaining wives. One son was a Methodist minister, one daughter was married to a minister, and two other daughters married well-to-do white men.

The father of the Carlisle son's sweetheart had been a missionary

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

Quanah Parker seemed to be the Indian with 643
the greatest influence, and the *Star* and *Journal* had a story of some [114]
sort about him in nearly every issue.

They ranged from the story about his white mother's having died of a broken heart when she was captured and returned to her own people, to stories about his physical prowess and his ability as a leader—about how, when once he had led his braves into Fort Sill under arms and surrendered, he had turned his attention to being a leader in peace. Then there was much said of how he had become a business adviser to other southwestern tribes. All in all, the stories painted a picture of a versatile and dedicated leader.

Two of these stories made me aware that the Comanches prac- 595
ticed polygamy. One had to do with the decision of some Texas cattle- 643
men, who had been renting Indian grass from Quanah, that he should 177
have a house. They hauled the lumber from Wichita Falls. They had to ford it across the Red River's quicksand and drag it through the mud of high-banked Deep Red, a total of fifty-five miles as the crow flies, to a site three and a half miles from where the town of Cache now stands, and on the west bank of West Cache Creek. The house could be considered an apartment house. Each of Quanah's wives had an apartment. In addition, there was a general living area.

The other story that stands out in my memory had to do with the 643
Indian Department's efforts to do away with polygamy before the 595
white people actually moved in and set up local government on a 657
county level. Once this was done, everyone would be subject to the Oklahoma territorial law.

The department pinned its hopes on winning over Quanah Parker, the last war leader of the Comanches. Not only was he respected by the Comanches, but he had become a sort of bellwether to the other Indians involved in this opening—the Kiowas, Caddos, Wichitas, and Apaches.

As the department considered this a very minor issue, its officials apparently approached Quanah Parker casually on the subject. They simply explained that the new officers of the local communities would have to arrest any Indian with more than one wife, just as they would have to arrest any white man found with multiple wives.

The solution, they said, was very simple. All the Indian had to do was pick out the wife he wanted to keep and then explain to the others that under white man's law they were surplus and would have to move elsewhere. "You see," they went on plausibly, "if they

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

choose to live on their allotment, the department will fence it and build them a little house. Every six months they will have their Grass Money for living expenses, and they can also lease out their allotment to a white man to farm.

Now Quanah had a question: "How is the Indian to tell which wife to keep and which is surplus?"

"That's easy," the department's spokesman answered. "Keep the one you love the best, the one you have had the longest, maybe the one that has borne you the most children, perhaps the prettiest one, or even the youngest and strongest. Since you can have but one, select the one you want to keep, and tell the rest to go."

It is always well to remember that the Comanches considered themselves as "The People" and were never awed in any company. In addition Chief Parker was proud of the fact that his white mother came from one of the first families of Texas, and I doubt that he ever felt inferior to any man. His reply not only shocked the government men, but sent them scurrying around for another answer to the question.

I think Quanah Parker's answer reached an all-time high in negotiating: "I have had a number of wives. Sometimes a wife dies and I take another to replace her. Once I had seven wives, but now I have only five. Each of my wives I have for a different length of time. Some I have for a very long time. Some for a very short time. I love all my wives equally. I could not call my wives together and tell them, 'Now that the white man is coming, his law says that I can keep but one wife.

" 'White man says I should keep the one that I love best. The rest are surplus and must go and live somewhere else. So this is the woman I love the best, and the rest of you are surplus. You must go and live elsewhere.' This I cannot do. You come to my house. You pick out a wife for me to keep. Then you tell 'em."

This ended the idea of telling Comanche wives that any of them were surplus. There is little doubt that any negotiator suggesting to any Comanche wife that she was surplus would have lived only as long as it took the squaw to cover the distance between them and to use her butcher knife. Nor would the three troops of cavalry stationed at Fort Sill have made any headway in quelling the squaw uprising.

Once Quanah Parker convinced the Indian Department officials that it would be impossible to handle the multiple wife situation as

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

simply as the department heads had imagined, the department and Chief Parker arrived at this sensible solution: 657 595 643

Nothing would be done about men who already had more than one wife, but they were not to take any more wives. Even if one died, a man would have to get along on what wives he had left. All single men would be restricted to marrying one wife. A violation of any one of these restrictions would bring about prosecution under the white man's law.

Among the Indians I knew intimately enough to be familiar with their family lives, I knew of only one who violated this agreement. He was a compulsive drinker, and was about to starve the two-wife family he already had when he took on a third wife. Ultimately he had to move onto the reservation permanently so as to get food, and I lost track of him. His Indian neighbors seemed to be ashamed of his conduct and tried to ignore his existence.

Polygamy had been an economic and social necessity for the Comanches. From the time they entered written history, when they came into contact with the Spanish people of Santa Fe about 1700, until their surrender in 1876 at Fort Sill, their history was one of continuous warfare. They had fought and defeated the Pawnees, the Osages, the Tonkawas, the Navahoes, the Utes, and the Pueblo Indians in New Mexico and Arizona. They had established an inland empire, Comanchería, just as legitimately as Charlemagne established his, and for a time they rode the crest of the horse-buffalo culture. They marketed horses with the Canadian Indians, raided as much as 1,500 miles into Mexico, and had seen the Pacific Ocean. They had stopped the advance of Spain to the north and to the east and that of the French to the west and to the south. Then, in the years of the new kind of warfare which brought about their decline, the United States, the Republic of Texas, the Confederacy, and Mexico were among their enemies. During all this time there was no period when the tribe as a whole was at peace. 595 721 648 175

In war men die young, and the male-female balance is lost. Continual warfare brought about an erosion of the numbers of Comanche men out of all proportion to the natural losses, through death, of the women. It was only through the custom of polygamy that every woman could have a husband and the birthrate could be maintained. 162 165 595

Then too, there had to be many trained hands to keep a Comanche

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
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camp functioning properly. The tasks were varied and time-consuming, and no one woman could have taken care of all of them.

The warrior-husband was the killer of game, the procurer of buffalo meat, the Comanches' principal source of food. He had to have two sets of trained horses—one trained for war, the other for the killing of buffalo. In either pursuit, his life was largely dependent on the horse. He manufactured both his riding gear and his weapons, and he trained his own horses. His fighting was practically on a twelve-month basis, since, though the Comanches did not like winter fighting, most of the ambitious warriors made raiding expeditions into Old Mexico when the group went into winter camp.

The husband, therefore, could be of little or no help around the camp, and the labor had to be divided among the women. Usually one of the women was an expert horsewoman and had the responsibility of her husband's horse herd, which often numbered a hundred or more. When the fall hunt was on for the winter's supply of meat, the wives did the skinning and butchering. They dried the meat and made the pemmican. Also, they prepared and tanned the hides. After the tanning came the making of clothing. This included everything the family wore, both in summer and winter. Since there was neither needle nor thread, the holes in the leather were made with a stone awl or one made from bone, and sinew taken from along the backbone of a buffalo or deer was used for thread.

Other hides were converted into robes for bedding or into covers for the tepees. When camp was moved, tepees had to be taken down and fastened on travoises, like all the other camp gear, and then camp must be set up again at the new location. All of this was strictly woman's work.

Somewhere, sometime, during breathing spells from all these duties, the women bore babies, nursed them, and raised them to be good Comanches. And all this was in a society without a recognized medium of exchange, in which no one could hire anything done. The Comanches did, however, utilize slave labor. Successful warriors furnished captive women to their wives for helpers. These captive women were given the opportunity to trade their slave status for wifehood, and captive girls were carefully trained to become Comanche wives. Captive boys were trained as warriors to fill the vacancies in the warrior ranks. In addition to members of other tribes, Anglos, Spaniards, and Mexicans were abducted to be made slaves.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

In Comanche society, once a woman left her father's camp she must of necessity become a wife. There was not another nook or cranny of Comanche society into which she could crowd herself. There were no avocations open to her. Prostitution and concubinage were not countenanced, and the enslavement of an unattached Comanche woman by another Comanche was completely unthinkable. (An example of the length to which a Comanche's obligation to respect the rights of other Comanches extended may be seen in the situation of the semiwild dogs that infested every camp. These dogs were not pets—they were parasites. But they could be neither killed nor mistreated. They were relatives of the coyote; and since the coyote was a relative of the Comanche, one had as well abuse another Comanche as one of these semiwild dogs.)

Provision for widows was made in this manner: if a man was killed, or if he died from disease, his wives became the wives of his brother or brothers, and his children became the children of his brother or brothers. There was also a relationship known as blood brotherhood, in which two men mingled their blood together. Such a blood brother could succeed as the husband of his deceased blood brother's wives.

During the more than five years when I was among the Comanches and was dealing with them, I became sold on polygamy as a way of life for them. They made it work. After twenty-six years of peace, there continued to be a much larger number of women than men. Though all but three of the old warrior group that I knew had more than one wife, and a number had three or more, I knew of no single man in that age group. Neither were there surplus unattached women. And women must have outnumbered men in the age group of forty-five years and over, by considerably more than two to one.

As nearly as I was able to discover, the multiple wife situation was a development rather than the result of a plan. A man did not decide he was going to have two, three, or more wives and go out and purchase the number he had decided upon. He started modestly, as a young warrior, with the purchase of one wife. Then as he prospered, gained a reputation, and accumulated a horse herd and maybe a baby or two, the work would become too heavy for one wife. Obviously they couldn't secure a hired girl, so they looked around and probably decided between them who would make a satisfactory and agreeable number two wife. When possible, a younger sister of the number

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

595 one wife was purchased. Sisters often trained themselves so that they could be wives of the same man, one learning to be a good horsewoman and the other to be expert in the tanning of hides and making of clothes, one complementing the other, in the hope that they might be purchased at the same time and so remain together.

If, in due time, there came to be need of a third wife, the rule was that she be young and healthy, capable of taking over the burdens of the older women. When the young wife bore a baby for the camp there was rejoicing, not only by the husband but by the other wives as well. This was especially true if it was a boy baby. (This part appealed to me. Just think of a family life where they never ran out of babies!)

595 855 I never once saw an older wife scold or mistreat the child of another wife. In fact, I never saw a Comanche woman mistreat any woman's child. It was no uncommon sight to see one wife caring for the children, while the other wife or wives were working, say, at hauling up wood for the camp.

657 423 417 342 At the time when I knew them, the Comanches were still living strictly a camp life. Where it was possible, the Indian Department had fenced the family allotments all into one enclosure or pasture, using four strands of barbed wire and posts every rod. The department had also built each family a box house—in most instances measuring fourteen by twenty-eight feet, shingle-roofed, and set on a foundation of rock piers about four feet apart.

342 592 Obviously, a family consisting of the husband, two to three wives, and several children could not live in a space that small. For spring, summer, and fall use a family would construct a brush arbor. Forked posts were cut so as to be about seven or eight feet tall when the lower end was set in the ground. Poles were laid from one fork to another, and in turn numerous cross poles were laid on them. Then a thick layer of brush with leaves was piled on the cross poles. This layer was thick enough to repel the sun's heat and shed the water from a reasonable rain. From time to time, as they were needed, additional layers of brush were applied.

This arbor served as living quarters for the family the greater part of the year. Since the sides were left open, whatever breeze there was, 352 513 from whichever direction it came, was utilized. Platforms, placed on forked sticks and about three feet from the ground, served as beds.

252 The cooking was done on an open fire, just below the bank of a

32: Gilles O,X-3((1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

slough and at some distance from the arbor. Brooms made from the native broom weeds tied tightly to a stick handle, brush end down, were used to sweep the arbor and cooking area scrupulously clean; and there were surprisingly few flies around the arbor. Generally shade was available, and the eating was done under the trees, away from the arbor. Wood, of course, was the fuel for the campfire.

When the time came for the really bad weather of fall, tents were pitched. Some families still had tepee poles and canvas covering for them. The buffalo-hide coverings had been gone for a long time when I arrived on the scene. The tents and tepees, together with the house, supplied the shelter needed in truly bad weather.

I have been in and around camps many times, and on occasion have even found it necessary to stay for the night. I watched the division of labor, seeking to find a clue as to who bossed whom. I never arrived at any satisfactory answers. Apparently the husband kept hands off, and the cooking area may have been out of bounds for him. At least, he stayed clear until the call for food. I never saw any of the women seek advice from the husband while the preparation of the meal was in progress.

There were exceptions, but at the home camp the husband usually corralled the horses and roped the ones to be used. Generally one of the women would come and help him harness or saddle up. Apparently the same wife helped with the horses each time. I was never aware of an order being given. When a family was in camp on the reservation for its Grass Money, the husband ordinarily cared for the horses.

At the home camp, one or two of the squaws would take a team and the wagon into the woods for the camp's wood supply. The squaws selected the down timber and chopped it into small enough pieces so that they could load it on the wagon to be hauled to camp. In one family group, this task was permanently assigned to a wife who had been so indiscreet as to give birth to a white baby. (The displeasure was not, however, visited upon the child. Not only was it treated just the same as the other children, but at times I was inclined to think it was actually the husband's favorite.)

I never saw anything to indicate that the first or oldest wife was necessarily the favorite one, nor was I able to tell which one of the women established the division of labor. A more trained observer than I might have secured more accurate information. In any event, of these things I am sure: there was a division of labor, and each wife

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

595 462 went about her tasks cheerfully and willingly. Whichever one of the women divided the labor reserved enough for herself so that she was just as busy as the other women.

857 462 The little girls of the family stayed close to the women the day through, and performed tasks suitable for their ages. But the little boys roamed far and wide, never seeming to have any duties except when they were helping their father with the horses.

521 522 462 [296] [124] During group tasks there was always quite a bit of conversation and considerable laughing. In warm weather the women would go to the creek together, select a place in the shade where the water was about six or eight inches deep, and sit in the water on the sandy bottom to do the family wash. I never learned what the talk and laughter were about, as I was never able to accumulate a squaw vocabulary.

521 562 609 124 [198] (Comanche women held only the most necessary conversation with any man, Indian or white, other than their own menfolks. And while I was generally able to figure out the subject of the men's conversation and follow its progress, I seldom recognized a word used by the women when they conversed among themselves. At times I was inclined to think they even had a different language.)

595 The same air of camaraderie seemed to prevail whenever the wives were together in a group. I noticed it in the store whenever there was only one family present. Their trading done, the wives would draw 516 [352] their chairs into a group and converse. They never had chairs in their camps, but the women never passed up the several chairs we had in the store—although once in a while some quite old squaw would insist on sitting on the floor. If the chairs were all occupied, the women never hesitated to sit on the floor, and the people trading would walk around them.

595 Wherever you saw a man's wives—in town, on the reservation, or at a celebration—they always formed a group. You would not find one wife in a store and another out on the street. Two or more groups of wives would often chat together in the store or sit together in the shade on the reservation or at a powwow.

595 422 294 One custom which seemed odd to me was that of each wife's having her own sewing machine. The sewing done by the average family was not so extensive that one machine would not easily have sufficed. Yet each wife would have her own—something I had been alerted to look for by an article that had appeared in the *Star* commenting that each of Quanah Parker's wives had her individual sewing machine.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

When our store opened for business, we had everything to learn about merchandising, and so we had no customs or inhibitions to overcome. I believe this operated to our advantage, especially with the Indian business. Mother selected our dry goods, and her good taste resulted in our having an attractive array of bolts of calico and gingham. Having observed the Indian women's taste in colors and the way they trimmed their clothes, she bought boxes and boxes of braid to match the colors of the piece goods. This unusual display of dry goods undoubtedly did much to attract the Indian women to our store from the very start.

I soon learned the Comanche words and phrases I needed to wait on them. I had no dictionary—as far as I know, the Comanche words had never been listed and defined. My learning was pretty much catch-as-catch-can. I found I could go a long way with the expression *Osh-a-him.* This can be translated as "What is the Comanche word for this?" or "What is this?" or "Who is that man?" or "Whose horse is this?" or "What is that man's name?" and so on and on and on, by inflection of the voice, pointing, and the use of signs.

Boylike, I was much amused at the women's way of shopping. When a family came into the store to trade, one wife would come to the grocery counter and start buying. She knew exactly what she wanted and the amount she wanted. No matter if she had been to Carlisle, if she wanted fifty cents' worth of sugar she said, "*Pina*—four bits." When I had weighed out the sugar, she paid for it and then asked for the next article, always by its Indian name and in amounts divisible by a bit, or 12½ cents. Money to the Comanches was two bits, four bits, six bits, dollar, dollar two bits, etc. Buying in this fashion would continue until all the first wife's wants were satisfied. Then she would place her purchases in a clean flour sack she had brought along for the purpose, and would rejoin the wife group.

Now a second wife would come to the counter, and in the majority of cases would buy exactly what the first wife had bought—and in identical amounts. Then it was wife number three's turn. The only variation would come when they bought the sweets for the children. Each wife bought for her own children, generally some variety of cookies that we kept on display, under glass to protect them from dirt and flies. Usually the older children had their own money and made their own purchases.

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The women and girls rode in the wagon or hack, but the men and boys would be mounted on their finest horses. Their saddles and bridles would be polished, and each would be carrying a gaudy quirt. I got the impression that when the men and boys were put on parade like this, they belonged to the whole family of women and girls. At least, they would all be equally puffed up with pride; It wouldn't have done to have pricked any one of them with a needle.

I grew up in a society where we all had Sunday clothes put away for special occasions. But this Comanche custom of dolling up the men and boys carried a greater significance for them. It was of a ritualistic nature.

To sum up: contrary to the impression of inner family turmoil I had received from the accounts in the *Star* and the *Journal* of the workings of polygamy, the Comanche made it work. As far as the older Comanches were concerned, it had been and was an ideal arrangement.

To all appearances, everyone involved in the multiple wife setup—the husband, the wives, the children—was quite happy with it. I never observed a quarrel between wives. I never saw one wife mistreat another. Nor did I ever observe a display of jealousy in relation to either husband or child.

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1879 and fifty-nine in 1889. This area included the Cheyenne-Arapaho Agency and the Pawnee Agency, as well as the Agency at Fort Sill. Agent Hunt had the Comanches, Apaches, Caddo, Wichita, Keechi, and Kiowa under his supervision, and so no one tribe could have sent many students.

As for Che-appy, his daughter recalls his saying that because he was an orphan and had no one to look after him, he was picked up and sent when pupils were being sought. Human nature seems much the same everywhere: here was a chance to rid the tribe of an orphan.

The letters found by Mr. Holmes indicate that Che-appy was given an Anglo surname at the school, as became the custom. The children's Indian names were too much for the teachers. One letter from General Pratt to Agent Hunt, dated August 27, 1881, listed certain students from Hunt's Agency who were in school, and in the list was "Cheapie Ross." Another, dated August 6, 1882, states that "Cheapie Ross," among others, "is here and quite well." The letter also states that "Cheapie" was out for a while during harvest, and was praised for his excellent work. It was a custom of the school to place students, both boys and girls, out to work for the nearby German farmers during the summer vacation. These summer jobs were called "outings." Another of Charley's summer outings, according to his daughter, was in the John Wanamaker store in New York City, where he worked as a stockboy.

A copy of one letter sent to General Pratt, dated June 15, 1882, states that Joshua Givens, having neither father nor mother, should be allowed to decide for himself whether he would remain in school. It may be assumed that Che-appy, since he was also an orphan, had the same privilege when his three years came to an end. I do not know how long he remained in school, if he did decide to stay longer than the initial three-year period. The next Agency record of him is the date of his marriage to Tits-se-na, also called Nah-vo-ne-vi-chy, by Indian custom. This was in 1889. The marriage was ended forty-five years later by the death of Tits-se-na. Four daughters and a son were born to this union. Though polygamy was the practice of the Comanches at the time, Charley took but one wife.

Mrs. Ross never had the privilege of schooling, but she evidently did yeoman service in the rearing of the family. She was a quiet-mannered person, but her smile was as contagious as was her husband's. Also, I distinctly remember how easily their two little girls

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30 men, 120 oxen or 90 mules, plus a cook wagon and team and two cooks. I figure twenty days for the outward part of the trip and five days to unload and return to Wichita Falls. Seven days of this time, in my opinion, would have been used up in fording the Red River. It is entirely possible that the freighters found it necessary to unload half of each wagonload for the river crossing. This would have necessitated two trips for each wagon, besides the time consumed in unloading and reloading. Nor have I made allowance for time lost because of bad weather or waiting for streams to run down. I am quite sure the freight cost was much greater than the cost of the lumber at the Wichita Falls lumberyard.

All this is hard to imagine now. When one crosses the Red River at Burkburnett, on a modern highway bridge, and sees the wide expanse of sand, he can easily visualize the freighters' problem. But when he approaches Deep Red Run on a graded and paved highway and crosses the creek itself, he will miss the drama of the undertaking entirely. The creek's watershed has been under cultivation for over half a century, and the depth of the stream's channel is now but a fraction of what it was in those days. There is no longer any evidence of the terraced canyon sides. Timber has been cut away. Even the pecan groves are gone. From the highways I have traveled recently there is no evidence of oxbow lakes. The constant flooding of the creek's bottom has evidently filled the lakes with alluvia. But sixty-odd years ago, when I was surveying from the river crossing north, I distinctly remember having spent six hours, one day, running three miles of line. I crossed Deep Red three times in the three miles. This meant climbing up and down the steep banks and wading the waist-deep red water and mud. When I was discussing my experiences in camp that night, I had to refer to my field notes to find out how many compass settings I had made in the three miles.

643 342 177 Heavy dimension lumber was used in the building of Quanah Parker's house, and it was well-constructed. Part of the house was still in use eighty years later. A few years ago the army took over the area where it stood for additional missile range, and the structure had to be moved.

Apparently Quanah left the planning of the house to his cattlemen friends, specifying only that it "face the rising sun." It was, in effect, 643 545 177 342 an apartment house. Each of Quanah's several wives had her separate quarters, in addition to the general living area. I have never found a

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statement of how many wives Quanah had at the time the house was built. He had a total of seven from the time the Comanche roll was made out in the seventies until the country was opened for settlement in 1901, at which time five were still living. Prior to the time the rolls were made, he had two Mescalero Apache wives. The name of only one of these, To-ye-yeh, has survived. The two desired to return to their own people, and Quanah consented. There is no record of children born to these Apache wives.

One interesting story connected with the house is that in the early 1890s Quanah had fourteen stars painted on the roof, including two on the summer kitchen and two on the smokehouse. It seems that during an army maneuver a brigadier general stopped at the house to ask permission to cross Quanah's property. Quanah was mystified by the many stars the general displayed. There were stars on his vehicle, on a flag the vehicle carried, and on the general's collar and shoulders. When he was informed that the stars denoted the general's command of possibly three thousand troops, Quanah decided he, too, deserved some stars, for he had commanded even more warriors than the brigadier. Hence the stars on his roof.

Quanah, who was probably born around 1852, died in this house in February, 1911. To-pay was his last surviving wife. She died in 1962, when she was more than ninety years old. She is credited with having said that Quanah's greatness was not that he was able to lead his tribe in the ways of peace, but that he was able to bring about peace and harmony in a household of several wives and numerous children.

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to the plant. Should you actually take hold, the tiny spines on the top of each nodule would get you, while if you passed your hand too closely, some of the interlaced spines would be so placed that they would bite. All in all, it was a well-protected cactus, but not a menacing one.

I don't recall how many years Mother kept the cactus sitting on the little knee-high deck built even with the bottom of the window, and I remember but one casualty. One afternoon Mother was helping in the store and waiting on three Indian women. They were the multiple wives of a Comanche living in our trade territory, and were regular store customers.

Mother and Dad made no effort to learn any Comanche, and they much preferred to have me wait on the Indian trade. At the time, I was busy on the grocery side of the store, but I was keeping an eye on her efforts to wait on the three Comanche women. We kept a number of yardsticks on each counter, so that an Indian could point to what he wanted when we didn't understand him. By custom, each wife bought for herself and her children, paying for each article as she bought it. When it came Wife Number Three's turn, Mother began having trouble.

She was the youngest of the three, and would have been the homeliest even if she hadn't lost one of her eyes. Through one of the mysteries of the world of genes, her one child, a little girl about three, was a beauty by anyone's standards. The other wives of a family always had fun with the wife who was buying. They were apparently offering free advice that was neither sought nor appreciated. They bantered back and forth, but I never knew what was being said. As far as I was able to tell, the Indian women spoke a language of their own—at least they had a different vocabulary. I was soon able to follow the men when they talked, but as it was generally expressed, "No savvy squaw talk."

I was sure Number Three was trying deliberately to be difficult. Maybe she was only trying to show off for the other two wives and for some Comanche women sitting in chairs back by the stove. We never took the stove down when spring came, as there was no suitable place to store it. It took up less space in place than elsewhere. Number Three continually refused to use the yardstick Mother tried to hand her, and by motions insisted Mother lay more bolts of calico on the counter.

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must stay completely apart from the Comanche women and girls." He explained it this way. Comanche women are supposed to have no communications, other than the most necessary, with menfolks other than their own, and this applied with extra force to white men. Comanche men held their women to strict account as to their conduct, and a white man could cause a Comanche woman serious trouble, unawares, should he try to be friendly. I lived up to this rule in every respect. Then, in addition, I naturally extended to all Indian women and girls every courtesy I had been taught to extend to women of my own race. This, too, could have had some bearing.

I could not help but notice Mo-cho-rook. He was a standout in every way. To start with, he was obviously the oldest of the old Indians. He was noticeably smaller than any of the other Indian men. And what was even more obvious, he had at this time only one wife. And of all the old fellows, he had by far the youngest wife and the youngest child. He was completely antisocial. I not only never gleaned a smile, but I never even drew a grunt from him, in the five plus years that I knew him.

On the top of all this, he had about the meanest look, and the cruelest eyes, I have ever seen on a human. I was later to know Geronimo, who was being held as a prisoner of war at Fort Sill. If anyone could have run Mo-cho-rook even a close second for looking mean and cruel, it would have been Geronimo.

The only time he ever came inside the store was when he needed smoking tobacco. He would have his nickel ready in his hand, would point to the Bull Durham, and when I handed him the tobacco, he would hand me the nickel. My fattest smile never brought a change in his expression. Once he had his tobacco, he would return outside. I never knew him to stay in out of even the most inclement weather.

I soon sorted out his wife. She was a young, large-limbed girl, with the true Comanche copper color. She had a baby boy, around a year old. He was old enough to be out of the cradle board, but that first summer he was not walking as yet. He was a healthy-looking little chap and, like all Indian babies, well behaved. I was later to learn that this child was the only one ever born to Mo-cho-rook by any of the numerous wives he had had. His squaw nearly always stayed in our store until they were ready to go home, and she bought all their supplies. He was one of the few Indians who never found it necessary to run an account until Grass Money time.

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the stampeding buffalo without stepping into a grass-covered badger or prairie-dog hole.

It was his medicine that enabled him to crawl into a cavalry bivouac and sever the eight-foot rope that each soldier had tied to his wrist, so his horse might graze safely during the night, and without waking the sleeper or his comrades lead the horse away.

It was his medicine that caused his wives to be friendly and congenial, one with the other. It resulted in the wives' caring for his camp, looking after his surplus horses, and bearing mostly boy babies. For none of these things did he take credit personally. But he was justly proud of his medicine that had brought all these things about, and he guarded it like a jealous lover.

To sum up the attributes of a name-giver: he needed a keen ear and an extensive knowledge of the vocabulary—perhaps a sense of humor helped—and he must have a successful reputation as a warrior-hunter and a willingness to share his medicine. Custom required him to give each individual named a supply of his medicine. Warriors often refused to give a name because it meant parting with a portion of their medicine. They feared the remainder might prove inadequate. Apparently the true name-giver's supply had a similarity to the oil in the cruse and the meal in the barrel of the widow at Zarepath, while she fed the fugitive Elijah. It was replenished as used.

My reading indicates that the Comanche placed more emphasis or dependence on the name than did any of the other Plains tribes. A warrior might carry a number of names, should he live a long and successful life. In the event a boy developed into a sickly youngster, or was accident-prone, his parents were apt to seek out one reputed to have even stronger medicine than the one who gave him the first name and ask for another name. Directly after puberty when a youth went alone to fast and pray for a vision, should his vision have particular significance, he would be given a name in keeping with the vision. But no Comanche dared name himself.

After his acceptance as a warrior, should he develop outstanding characteristics in methods, strategy, or bravery, he might be given yet another name, descriptive of his accomplishments. For example, there was the Mexican captive Mo-cho-rook, about whom I tell in another chapter. Raised and trained as a Comanche warrior, he was given this name because "he so cruel, he makes Comanche blood run cold." He became a legend while yet he lived.

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Its place was in the rear of the wagon bed. That way, if it leaked, it 000
wouldn't damage the other merchandise.

The trip home took about six to seven hours. If the roads were muddy, it took longer. Dad was generally gone from home about fourteen hours, but the team had at leat three hours to rest in Lawton. They couldn't make these trips day in, day out. We planned at least a day's rest between trips.

This particular morning Dad was ready to leave by the time I had the team hitched up, and I went in, hoping Mother had my breakfast ready. As I ate, she asked me if I had heard anything about Albert [164] Martny's falling from a horse, catching his foot in a stirrup, and being dragged.

The Jim Martny family, one of the more prosperous Comanche families, was one of my own family's favorites. Jim was larger than most Comanches; many folks called him Big Jim. He was a multiple- [595] wife Indian, and his favorite wife was the mother of two boys—Albert, then in his fourteenth year, and Earny, who was twelve. Jim's other wives' children were girls.

Indirectly, the way Mother learned about Albert's accident was that ours was one of the luckier towns—we had a doctor. Dr. McLain, just out of medical school, settled in our town with his young wife only a few days before we arrived. He built a combination office and residence across the street, and a bit east, from where Dad built our store building.

Mrs. McLain was expecting a baby before long; and when the doctor made an out-of-town call, Mother or Mrs. Cudyback, the wife of a saloonkeeper living directly across the street from the store, would sit with her. Occasionally Mrs. McLain would go to the Cudyback home or sit in our store until the doctor returned. The night before, both Mother and Mrs. Cudyback had visited with Mrs. McLain, and Mother was full of the story about Albert's accident. Mr. Cudyback picked up a good deal of gossip at the saloon he and his brother Will ran, and Mrs. McLain told what she learned from her doctor husband.

Jim Martny owned two well-bred racing stallions, and his other 492
horses were of superior quality compared to the horses owned by most 541
of his Comanche neighbors. I don't know how long Albert had been riding his father's horses in races, but early in 1902, when our town began holding races each first and third Saturday, Albert was his